1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

younger. It appears that it is his special duty to make the perforations in the child's ears and nose. Return presents of food are made by the child's father; and it will stay from time to time in the elder *tato's* house and give him some assistance in his garden.

An Orokaiva child invariably has two alternative names, and frequently more. The 'name proper' (*javo he*) is that of its *tato*; the alternative, a nick-name, is called *javo isapo*, the 'small name'. A child may acquire his *javo isapo* by some accident of birth, e.g. one is called Ijita ('In the Sun') because she was brought to birth in a hot sunny place; another Bokoru ('Swamp') because he was born in a swamp; another is Pokoembo, because of a congenitally malformed foot. Such nicknames may be given for what must seem to us the most bizarre reasons. A man returning from a flood-time hunting expedition happened to fall into a hole full of water; on reaching home and finding that his wife had presented him with a child, he named it Hotera, 'In the hole'. Another returning home found that his son had died and was already wrapped or swathed (*egari*) in pandanus mats for burial. He cried, 'Open the mats for me to see my son', and gave to a child born shortly afterwards the somewhat ghastly name of Egari.

The *javo isapo* may be acquired at any age. A boy is named Sombi because as a youngster he captured a small lizard (*sombi*) and showed it to his parents. Another is Dumai, because on the occasion of a former cannibal raid he ran with the speed of a *dumai* or meteor—whether towards or away from the enemy was not specified. A third is called Jipari or 'shaker', because having survived a blow from a stone club, he startled or impressed his friends by the jerking or shaking (*jipari*) of his head. The commonest source of Orokaiva names, however, is simply the bush, and the frequency of botanic names, i.e. of trees, plants, and so forth, will be referred to in Chapter VIII, where it will be shown to bear on the question of the Plant Emblem.

Still another method of acquiring a name will call for notice in another place. This is the assumption by the slayer of the name of the slain. Whatever be the reason for this

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

practice the new name (that of the slain) almost entirely supersedes the old; and, what is of importance here, the name of the slain warrior is sometimes taken not by the slayer himself but by his son. Instances of this are not uncommon.

Body Deformations. The perforations of the ear-lobes are made within the first few months of the infant's life. The piercing of the nasal septum is delayed until it is perhaps a year or so old. Among nearly all the Orokaiva both operations are performed simply by clamping on a tortoise-shell ring (*siatu*) which gradually works through the flesh. Strictly speaking it is the duty of the *tato* to provide the *siatu*, but the rule is not always observed.[1] Among the Hunjara tribe, I believe, it is the custom to defer the making of the nose-hole until the initiation ceremony, when youths and girls, sitting in a row, have to submit their noses to a painful and sometimes bloody thrust with a bone needle.

The Assumption of Clothing. Young children—boys or girls—go naked. With boys it is usual among all the tribes to assume the perineal band (*bo*) at various ages before they reach puberty. This is certainly the modern usage, and I believe it was the former usage also. Whether it was formerly permissible for the boy to adopt his *bo* without any ceremony (as he sometimes does nowadays) I cannot say; but it appears that any festivity might be made the occasion of bestowing it. For instance, at a dance which forms one of the earliest of the mortuary ceremonies, a youngster received his *bo* as a sort of extraneous incident in the day's procedure; and the same occurred in another ceremony in which the widow was finally discarding her mourning. The formal bestowal of a *bo* means a present to the man who bestows it, so that when a pig is killed for any major ceremony it is a good opportunity for providing a share as payment for a minor rite. The occasion for honouring the child is all the more fitting as a large number of spectators will be present.

[1] In *J. R. A. I.* lv, 1925, p. 407, I wrote: 'The maternal uncle has certain ceremonial duties to perform, e. g. that of piercing the child's nose. . . .' It appears, however, that this duty does not belong necessarily to the maternal uncle or side.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

tially patriarchal group to receive a distinctive name for it to become a separate clan.

While in origin the clan and the village are co-extensive, this state of affairs is by no means always maintained. War, dispersal, and migration have scattered some clans and drawn others together; so that now on the one hand we may find representatives of one clan in a number of villages, and on the other a single village comprising several clans. In the latter place it is found that the several clans occupy more or less distinct locations.

The Origin of Clan Names. It has been said that the essential feature which gives identity to a clan is a distinctive name. Beyond this it has a further mark of identity in the shape of a specific plant-emblem, called *beratu*. The *beratu* will be the subject of another chapter. I may here continue to discuss the first of these essential features, viz. the name, and account for its origin.

It is by no means unusual for a man to identify himself by the name of his parent or ancestor as well as by his own. An interesting example of this is seen in the cries of triumph uttered by the warrior or the hunter. As he drives his spear into the victim or the pig he shouts, not his own name, but some such expression as *Embogetabije!* (*Abije*, or descendant of Emboge); *Hositamei!* (lit. 'Son of Hosi', though in the case in point Hosi is the paternal grandfather); or *Kaiepa-ta-bijari!* (begotten of Kaiepa).[1] A woman making a big haul of fish might be elated enough to cry *Handau-ta-du!* (sister of Handau, who is the 'big man' of her clan). In other cases the successful hunter cries out his clan name, e.g. *Jagasitabije!*, or *Sarahu-ta-bijari!*, in which Jagasi and Sarahu are the names of the clans rather than of any definite or well-remembered person.

Again all the underlings of any 'big man' will be known to others under his name. In the Sangara dialect there is a word *tekaboka*, of which I do not know the literal meaning, but which appears to stand for a 'following'. When, at a gathering of the clans for war, or for some peaceful cere-

[1] In some cases it appears that the man cries the name of his maternal relative, either grandfather or uncle.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

mony, the several parties make their appearance each following in single file behind its leader, a cry will go up, 'Here come the people, the *Tekaboka*, of Embuja, of Ehari, of Andari!'—whoever the big man may be. So in the Aiga language there is a word *ambotani*, which embraces all a man's junior relatives; and thus a number of more or less unimportant individuals may be known to others as the juniors of a certain big man and identified by his name.

There is no well-defined chieftainship among the Orokaiva, but merely a recognized ascendancy of the old men. The leader and ruler of any clan is the eldest of its men, provided he is not so old as to be incompetent, and provided always that his personality is equal to his position. It is consequently difficult to find a word which would correspond with our idea of 'chief', and unsatisfactory to use the English word 'chief', as too pretentious for even the most important of clan leaders. The Orokaiva expressions as far as I know them are *embo-be* (a proper man), and *embo-peni*, *embo-pajirari*, *embo-paitukiari*, and *embo-siakabada* (all of which mean no more than 'big or important man'); and these terms may be used of men of importance who cannot claim to be actually leaders. There are two other terms, however, which seem to possess a more specific application: they are *embo-javoari* and *embo-penjavo*. The first appears to mean 'the man who gives the name' (*javo*), and the second is no doubt a contraction of *embo-peni-javo* (man—big—name). The implication is that the real chief is the man who gives his name to his followers, i.e. the man by whose name they are collectively known.

It is readily understood how in this simple patriarchal organization the group may take its collective name from the leader or patriarch. Further, one may be surprised on asking who is the *embo-javoari* of a certain group, to be given the name of a man who is dead. Chieftainship among the Orokaiva is so rudimentary that a successor may not yet, so to speak, have taken shape. But that does not matter. The group is content to be known as the followers of the dead man.

All this leads to the conclusion (if it be not too obvious

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

614 have the extra connotation of 'ancient'; the latter may mean
778 either literally 'grandfather', or else an ancestor more remote. It is always difficult to determine the proper limits of native categories. *Heratu*, which I have used as synonymous with plant-emblem, would seem with some informants to have a rather more limited application, i.e. it refers to the plant emblem especially *qua* mark of identity; whereas *evobo* is rather a more comprehensive term, covering not only the special plant-emblem ancestor, but the whole march-past of forefathers. However, the plant-emblem is called an
[764] ancestor; and when a man is dead and lies awaiting burial, the women may be heard crying to him as the offspring of his *heratu*—'*Asava-jai, Hombiga-jai!*' i.e. 'Child of Asava, child of Hombiga!' the word *jai* being used in everyday speech as we might use the word 'piccaninny'.

614 Now I have on a number of occasions asked the native
778 what he means by calling the plant emblem his ancestor.
551 Sometimes he cannot give an answer, but very commonly he can, and then it is always the same: 'Our real ancestor', he says, 'was a human being, not a tree; *it was a man with a tree name.*' For once, I believe, our native has given the really true explanation. I will proceed with the evidence for this hypothesis, viz. that the normal *heratu* is a species of plant representing a human ancestor of the same name.

There are certain reasonably authentic incidents in which a human namesake, or rather original, of the *heratu* is well remembered. Thus there is a Binandele clan named Yegaboda whose *heratu* is *watora* the reed. During their latter migrations these people hid from their enemies among the reeds, and here a baby was born to whom was given, in a very characteristic fashion, the name Watora. In due time this child became the chief man of his clan, which adopted *watora*, or the reed, as its *heratu*. So again we find two widely separated branches of the clan Samanahu, one among the Aiga, the other, an emigrant section, among the Binandele. The Aiga section, still retaining their name of Samanahu, have now the alternative *heratu*, *asava* and *hombiga*, evidently acquired subsequently; while the Binandele branch has kept its original *heratu*, the tree *samana*. Both sections, however,

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

told the same tale of Samana. He was their common ancestor—not a tree of course, they affirmed, but a man, and one who, as it chanced, acquired his name from the fact that he was brought to birth under a *samana* tree.

(It happens that in each of these two cases the ancestor has acquired his tree name in much the same way; and in fact this habit of naming a child from some odd circumstances attending its birth is very common; instance the names Abiga, 'Ashes', and Ijita, 'The Sun', given for precisely similar reasons. But whatever the origin of the tree names for human beings, I shall presently have to stress the fact of their extraordinary frequency among the Orokaiva.)

To give further instances, a man of the Aiga clan Johari, whose *heratu* is *saga*, declares that Saga was a man of flesh and bone, and gives with confidence a genealogy in which he proves to be his great-grandfather. Another, an old man with *heratu okomba*, says that he remembers seeing in his boyhood the real Okomba. In a certain village on the Kumusi the *heratu* is *juara*, a creeper. This will not make a suitable tabu post, so the chief, one Euga, cut out a post from the *euga* tree; and on another occasion used the tree *hananya*, because a paternal ancestor had borne that name.

Of individual *heratu* I shall have more to say presently; but an instance may be given here to show how the individual *heratu* also represents the human being with the tree name. The Pure clan on the Mambare has for its *heratu* the plant *pura*; but two individual clansmen possess *heratu* of their own, one the tree *goru*, from his paternal grandfather of the same name, and the other a pair of alternatives, *simbiri* (the croton), his mother's name, and *eua* (a kind of bread-fruit?), his father's name. Instances could be multiplied. From constant questioning I have come to form the opinion that in the very great majority of cases the *heratu* has been adopted in this manner, viz. as a tangible emblem of the synonymous ancestor.

I have four cases in which a contrary explanation was offered. A fugitive section of the Serugahije clan, making its way northward toward the river Mambare, settled for some time in a place of abundant sago, and thereafter aban-

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

doned the original *heratu tuvira*, and adopted *ambe*, or sago. A clan of the Tain-Daware named Giriri had for its original ancestor one Bono. But they were constantly using a certain hardwood called *giriri* for building, and consequently took this for their *heratu* and clan name. The Gonini clan of the Tain-Daware have for their *heratu gonini*, and occupy four villages. In one of these, Sivariri, there is growing a large tree of the same name, and its inhabitants have taken this species (*sivariri*) for their *heratu*. The fourth instance is that of the Binandele clan Diriu. These people, who long ago lived on the Kumusi, were fishing in a small creek when the body of a blue pigeon (*diriu*) came floating down. They accordingly named the creek Diriu, and, it would appear, adopted the name for themselves and their *heratu*. Though the clan was long ago driven out by the Aiga, this same creek and the adjacent village are still known as Diriu, a circumstance which gives a colour of truth to the legend.

These four cases, however, are not typical. The usual explanation is the one I have given above. In many cases, of course, no explanation whatever was offered; yet it came as a rather pleasant surprise to the investigator that the natives should suggest as often as they did the same plausible origin for one of their customs. After some acquaintance with the Orokaiva, one may safely say that, although of a highly imaginative nature, he is not such a fool as really to believe himself descended from a tree.

Identity of Clan, Heratu, and Ancestor

We have now, therefore, reached this proposition: the *heratu* is both tree and ancestor, and it is so by virtue of the circumstance that the name of the tree and the name of the ancestor were identical.

Now I have already shown (Chapter VII, pp. 103 ff.) that groups of men tend to take their collective names from the individual names of their leaders, and that the clan name is frequently that of its original leader or founder. There is no need to elaborate that theme, but I may draw attention to the facts (1) that clan names are very commonly tree names, and (2) that very commonly the clan name and that

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

614
778
551

of the *heratu* are identical, or the former incorporates the latter.

To illustrate these two points I give a list—fairly complete—of the clans of the Aiga tribe. The terminations of the clan names require a note. *Abije* means 'descendant'; *ubu* means literally and somewhat picturesquely 'the trunk of a tree', much as we should say 'stock'; *embo* means 'man'; *aba* may mean 'mother', as it does in one Orokaiva dialect (Hunjara), though not in that of the Aiga; *-ta* is simply an associative or possessive suffix.

(1) There is first a class of local names which more or less explain themselves.

Clan Name.	*Meaning.*	*Heratu.*
Angerihani	(*angeri* means 'beyond, over yonder'; *hani* may mean 'friends, comrades', or possibly 'tree branch'.)	*Isuga, Soriho.*
Angeriuhu	. . . . .	*Potana, Hamana.*
Autembo	(*aute* means the 'bush, forest'.)	*Saga.*
Poita-uhu	(Poita, the name of a certain creek.)	*Boruga.*[1]
Seva-uhu	(*sevahi*, the 'bush'.)	*Siruga, Seki,* and *Tanderi.*
Tiri-Humusi	(*tiri*, 'hills'; Humusi, the river Kumusi.)	*Hambora, Garava.*

(2) There is one solitary bird name of which I can give no explanation.

Jega-Karenga	(*Jega*?; *Karenga*, parrot) . .	?

(3) There is thirdly a miscellaneous class of names of which I have no explanation, but will put down only for the sake of making the list complete. These may be nicknames, ancestral names, or tree names.

Clan Name.	*Heratu.*
Airahije	*Horo.*
Ata	?
Evija	*Isuga.*
Horipahije . . .	*Ongo.*
Jarutuhu	*Embara, Kitikukumi, Ehe.*
Johari	*Saga.*
Koariahije . . .	*Tanderi.*
Komahije . . .	*Tutengi.*
Ngiriahije . . .	*Boruga.*[1]

[1] The same *heratu* may belong to apparently unrelated clans.

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

(4) Lastly there is a long list in which the clan name is that of a tree or plant.

Clan Name.	*Heratu.*
Ango-uhu	?
Aseahije	*Pogera, Ast.*
Borugaha	*Boruga.*[1]
Bove	*Simbiri.*
Eugahu	*Euga?*
Honia-Noduru	? (a split stick).
Hojavahije	*Hojava.*
Isugahije	*Isuga.*
Jautiahije	*Jauti.*
Jega-Juaraha	*Juara.*
Koropahije	*Tutengi, Tambara.*
Ongoahije	*Ongo.*
Paingoahije	*Paingo.*
Samanahu	*Asava, Hombiga.*
Samberota	*Sambi* (a squashed stick).
Sauhu	*Sabu.*
Seheo-Buje	*Buje.*
Sekihu	*Seki.*
Serugahije	*Tuvira, Ebe-jakara, Komusu.*
Simborota	*Simboro, Ominga, Atu, Boruga.*[1]
Soriahije	*Soribo.*

If we exclude the third category, of which I have obtained no explanation, it will be seen that the last category contains the majority of the remaining names. And it will be seen also that in fifteen cases out of twenty-one, the clan's name, besides being that of a tree or plant, is that of the particular plant which is its emblem or *heratu*. In the typical instance, I believe, the names of clan and *heratu* correspond. And when we remember that the clan takes its name from its original leader or founder, it will appear that in the typical instance the names of the clan, the *heratu*, and the founder correspond.

On the whole I think the clan and its *heratu* come into being simultaneously and in this manner: an individual secedes from the parent clan and his family grows into an independent clan. This clan comes to be known by its founder's name and adopts for emblem a plant bearing the same name, or one similar to it.

[1] The same *heratu* may belong to apparently unrelated clans.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

The exceptions (i.e. where the clan name and *heratu* do not correspond) may be explained in several ways. (1) A sub-clan may retain the old *heratu* but take a new name. So the Autembo are a fugitive section of the Johari who took to the bush (*aute*) in order to avoid reprisals for a murder. While they are known as Autembo they have kept the original *heratu* of the Johari, viz. *Saga*. (2) A local branch of a clan may keep its original clan name but adopt a distinctive *heratu*. A migrant section of the Simborota still call themselves Simborota, but have assumed *Boruga* as their *heratu*. (3) A clan may discard the old *heratu* and take the synonymous plant of a new leader. Thus a very old man tells me his *heratu* was formerly *Tumena* (a variety of taro), but nowadays it is *Bari*, because his son *Barigi*, an ex-sergeant of Native Police (made famous by C. A. W. Monckton), has taken his place as leader of the clan.

Plant Names for Human Beings

I have mentioned (p. 97) the frequency with which plant names are used for human beings among the Orokaiva. It is time that this statement should be substantiated. In the first place we are dealing with a people of the forest, who depend on its products for countless purposes, and who know its multifarious flora in a way that no European could know it—unless he were a botantist. It need not altogether surprise us, therefore, that they should draw upon this inexhaustible store for their own personal names.

Name-giving customs have been dealt with already (Chapter VII, pp. 96–98). Suffice it to say here that, besides the formal names passed on by god-fathers and god-mothers (*tato*), there are countless nicknames (as we should call them) originating from some chance circumstance of birth or early youth. The formal names appear to be as odd as the others, and have no doubt arisen in the same haphazard manner. Most personal names permit of interpretation, and provided their owners or their owners' parents are present, the interpretation will often recall some homely anecdote of childhood. But, however they may have arisen, plant names form a large proportion of them. In a random list

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

(two series of men who submitted themselves for physical measurement) we find such names as Half-cooked, Shell, Lizard, Pus, Cry-baby, to Stretch, to miss with the Spear, Wet, Roasted, and so on. But by far the largest category is that of plant names. In a list of 57 names (13 of which were not interpretable) they added up to 15, i.e. 26 per cent. of the whole, or 34 per cent. of the interpretable names.

The Heratu as Badge

(*a*) *The Use of 'Nearly' Synonymous Heratu.* As only a proportion of men have actual plant names, it is obvious that not every one can have a synonymous *heratu*. There is, however, an important consideration which does much to remove this difficulty. Although a man may not have a plant name, nevertheless some plant with a name *resembling* his will be made to stand for him. The instance of the altered *heratu Bari* (p. 123) is a case in point. *Barigi*, as far as I know, is not the name of a plant; but *bari* is a sufficient approximation, and will do for the *heratu* of Barigi's clan. So we have *pura* as *heratu* for the clan Pure, and *anderi* for the clan Andere. Again for the clan Samberota (named from the plant *Sambero*) we have *sambi*, the flattened stick (vide p. 113).

(We even find a closely related variety of plant made to do service for the proper *heratu*, though it has an entirely different name. Thus the tree *benoma* may be a substitute for *samana* of the Samanahu (Binandele branch); *omba* for *Piri* of Piri-bijari; *pogera* for *ase* (both varieties of Job's Tears) of the Aseahije.)

What with the frequent occurrence of plant names and this convenient possibility of using as *heratu* a plant that is only nearly synonymous, it is almost impossible that any and every Orokaiva should not have his plant emblem.

(*b*) *The Individual Heratu.* This brings us to the individual plant emblem, which has already been touched on here and there. The matter does not require a long consideration, for it will be obvious that the principle of the individual plant emblem will be precisely the same as that of the clan plant emblem; indeed, in all typical cases the latter has apparently come into being as an individual emblem. One

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

sometimes finds a man living as a member of a clan and owning its *heratu*, but at the same time boasting a private sign for himself. We have seen a man, Euga of the Jega-Juaraha (*heratu juara*), setting up a *naterari* of *euga* wood (vide p. 119), and two members of the Pure clan distinguishing themselves by the synonymous plants of their grandparents or parents. Among the Binandele clan of Diriu is a man Taimi, who, besides the feather of the blue pigeon (*diriu*), has a *heratu* of his own, viz. *tai*, a root. No doubt the pigeon feather is not always at hand; but the root of any plant placed conspicuously on the track is enough to show his friends that Taimi has passed by.

(*c*) *Summary on the Heratu as a Badge.* It remains to say something more of the *heratu* as a badge or identity token, and lastly to discuss its bearing on the question of totemism.

Of the three main uses of the *heratu* previously described, viz. (1) as an identity token, (2) as a mark of individual abstinence, (3) as the *naterari*, or village tabu post, the last will seem tolerably clear. The *naterari* stands as a symbol of the dead man in whose behalf the tabu is imposed. Formerly it may have been something more than a formal symbol of the dead, in fact a crude image. This association between the wooden post and the dead man which it represents is strengthened by using his particular namesake tree: then, besides other associations, the two have this important bond between them—a common name.

The second use remains somewhat obscure, though it has this in common with the *naterari*, that in both the *heratu* is really a tabu sign.

The first use, however, is the fundamental one. The *heratu* is a badge; and it is a badge by virtue of the fact that it bears the same name (or nearly the same name) as the man or men it represents. We may therefore call it a synonymous badge. A man named Waiwa once explained the matter to me thus. 'You white men', he said, 'have your books. If you went to your friend's garden and took his taro, you would write your name in the book, and when he came and saw your name there he would be content, knowing that his taro had been taken by a friend. But the New

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

614 On the other hand, however, a man of the Bangai-unji,
778 or 'children of the eagle-hawk', who use one of its speckled
784 feathers for their mark, avers that he would neither kill nor eat the bird; and, further, volunteers that if a *bangai* fledgling, being caught and kept in the village, were to die, it would not be eaten or thrown away, but buried. Lastly, there is one isolated note which may have some significance. The bird *Hororo* (mentioned on p. 113) belongs especially to a certain man Erupa. Should its cry be heard near the village, the people would say, 'Erupa will be successful in the hunt to-day'.

551 In passing I may mention a point of some interest.
606 Among the Orokaiva there are certain strict rules of etiquette
778 between relatives by marriage (particularly between the man and his parents-in-law), exemplified by a very strict name-avoidance. Now, although a man will cut down his own *beratu* tree without mercy, he will hesitate to do the same with a tree that happens to bear the name of his *atowo* or *imboti*, i.e. his father-in-law or his mother-in-law, and may request one of his companions in the clearing to fell this particular tree for him. Similarly he will not eat any food, animal or vegetable, which happens to be synonymous with either of his parents-in-law. Now this rule is based on sentiment; there are, as far as my knowledge goes, no magico-religious sanctions to it; and where a similar tabu is observed with regard to the *beratu* we may probably assume that this is likewise no more than a sentimental avoidance.

778 The foregoing evidence has been set down for what it is worth. On the whole there would appear to be no very special regard for the *beratu*, though here and there will crop up a strong manifestation of such regard. It may not be surprising that this is relatively more marked in the few cases of birds than in those of the usual botanic *beratu*, because the former, with their more definite personality, are in themselves likelier objects of regard than the latter.

In fine it is of little consequence whether the plant emblem be called a totem or not; it will be obvious that it is very much like one. There is in my own mind little doubt as to how the system came into being. The *beratu* is a synony-

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

is always swarming with them. While he crouches in a fork of the tree, branches are broken and laid over him so that he is almost completely covered and thoroughly bitten. Having endured this for some time, he climbs down and eats the *sasa*, steaming himself over the dish and sponging his joints with handfuls of the stewed leaves. Another rite (also performed at the end of the initiate's seclusion) was to break a coco-nut above the slayer and souse his head with the milk.

It seems likely that all these observances and tabus are in a sense not only purificatory but defensive. As a rule, informants have no explanation to offer, but I have been informed directly that they are meant to drive away the *asisi*, or spirit, of the slain man. In support of this view I may quote what W. N. Beaver has written: 'I am not disposed to the sole view that the killer is "unclean". It seems to me rather that rites are necessary to throw off the power of the ghost or ghosts of the slain. . . .'[1]

Adoption of the Victim's Name

There is a very common practice, already referred to in Chapter VII, which we may be tempted to associate with the same idea. This is the practice of adopting the name of the slain. A man, originally named Koga, for instance, has killed another named Amburi: henceforward he, the slayer, is known by the name of Amburi, the slain. This custom is very common, and has been noted by others, so that it is unnecessary to give a succession of examples. It does not follow that the slayer entirely abandons his original name, which, I am told, may still be used occasionally by his more immediate friends; but his ordinary name is certainly that which he has taken from his victim. When a warrior of distinction has accounted for a number of slain he does not take the name of each in turn, but continues, as a rule, to be known by that of the first. This, however, cannot be an invariable rule, for a certain Ehari of Wasida, who can name no less than seven victims of his own hand, is known by the

[1] 'The Use of Emblems or Insignia of Man-killing among the "Orokaiva" tribes of the Kumusi Division', *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 97.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

727 551 name of the second. His original name was Ata; his first victim was Asi and his second Ehari. He is now called Ehari though he has since killed five others.

Although the stoutest warrior does not disdain to take the life of a woman, he does not assume her name. I have one case, however, in which the slayer gave the name of his woman victim to his infant daughter. The habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer (sometimes born subsequently) is again a common one. I quote an example by H. L. Griffin:

> 'It is a common thing amongst the Binandele for a man who kills a big chief to take the dead man's name, which he becomes very proud of; but my orderly, Constable Gisi-Gada, received his name rather curiously. His father, a Dauntutu man, went to fight on the Waria, and killed a big Waria chief named Gisi-Gada. On his return his wife informed him that she was pregnant. He was so pleased at this that he said that, if the child was a boy, he should have the name Gisi-Gada instead of his father. Everything turned out as desired, and so my orderly bears the distinguished name. But it was an instance of self-abnegation on the part of the father that is very rare in Papua.'[1]

This is a typical example, though I cannot believe that self-abnegation in general is very rare among Papuans; and the particular habit of giving the name of the slain to the son of the slayer is not rare but common.

579 551 It is interesting to note that in the case of an inter-clan fight (somewhat unusually fierce) in which two were killed on one side and five on the other, the slayers did not take the names of the slain. For this I received the somewhat bald explanation that the two factions lived at too close quarters and feared magic.

727 551 554 The usual native explanation of the practice under discussion is that the name of the slain is adopted as a distinction. It draws attention to the fact that a man is *embo-dari* or *mai-dari*, i.e. a man-slayer, and marks him, therefore, as one of valour, *koropahuso*, 'strong or expert with the spear'. It serves to commemorate his exploit.

727 551 Another explanation has already been suggested, viz. that adopting the name of the slain is in some manner a protec-

[1] Quoted by J. H. P. Murray, Lieutenant-Governor, in *Annual Report*, 1908–9, p. 23.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

tion against the latter's avenging spirit or *diroga*. As we shall see, the Orokaiva dreads the spirits of the dead, whether slain in fight or dying in peace, and it may be that the tabus and observances which are customary with the man-slayer are in the nature of precautions against the spirit (*asisi* or *diroga*) of his victim. It may also be that by adopting the latter's name the slayer hopes to make himself invulnerable, because the dead would not assail the man who now bore his own name. This explanation, however, is merely a suggestion, and even if it be true, it is certainly not explicit in the native mind. Somewhat against it are the facts that a slayer of many men is known by the name of only one of them; that a man does not take a female victim's name; and that in an inter-clan fight the names of the slain were not taken at all. On the whole it seems that we must discard the tempting explanation (viz. that the adoption of the name is a precautionary measure against the spirit of the slain), and fall back on the simpler statement of the native, that it is in the nature of a distinction.

Homicidal Insignia

There is another kind of distinction, viz. the wearing of certain ornaments, &c., which may be described as homicidal insignia. To these is given the general name *otobu*, or the specific name of *esa*. The latter will be found more satisfactory here. The subject of these insignia among the Orokaiva is not so straightforward as we might expect, owing to the fact—a happy one from all points of view save the present—that homicide has long gone out of fashion, or at least no longer bears an honorific implication, so that the customs connected with it cannot be studied directly. The best written on the subject is found in the admirable article by the late W. N. Beaver in the *Annual Report*, 1918–19, pp. 96–9.

The source of confusion is in the fact that *otobu* ornaments are also given in connexion with initiation, where they certainly do not imply that the recipient has been a man-slayer. The concrete fact that they are given to girls as well as to boys or men is enough to prove this. Beaver

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

to keep on friendly terms with the other members of the sympathy-group, and I shall refer to it as the Sympathetic Sanction. This considerateness is constantly evinced in daily life, e.g. by a reticence regarding the peculiarities of one's neighbours, by an absence of any cruel competitive spirit by which one man seeks profit at another's expense, even by the reluctance to exercise compulsion on another individual; and I believe that the common regard for property rights is supported by this sanction more strongly than by the fear of retaliation or of public censure, which are rather in the nature of reinforcements; for Orokaiva property, for instance, is nearly always safe from the thief even when he is absolutely free from the risk of detection, and I believe he respects it primarily out of consideration for its owner.

But it is from the negative instances that we may most safely deduce the value of the sympathetic sanction; that is to say, when the sanction has failed to work and some personal offence has been committed, we may observe the psychological effect upon the offender. In such an event the offender is amply punished by being thoroughly sorry for his victim and thoroughly ashamed of himself. We may consider a simple instance (though in our eyes a somewhat extraordinary one), viz. when a man inadvertently uses the name of his brother-in-law, which the Orokaiva regards as a very grave insult. The unfortunate offender will throw his hands up with a despairing gesture and hang his head in shame and confusion which are truly comical to behold; while the brother-in-law, if he chance to have overheard, will be deeply offended and, strangely enough, covered with equal shame. The matter can only be mended by a gift.

The conciliatory gift is a characteristic way of compensating for personal wrong. In a case previously referred to (p. 186), where a man had given a youth some feathers to wear before his formal investiture with the *kokumbari*, and

for the feelings of others, I think that the statement is generally true of the Papuan' (Sir Hubert Murray, *Papua of To-day*, p. 223). Upon looking up this passage I was so struck by its appositeness to the present chapter, that I suspect it must have had something to do with shaping the general views expressed therein, more indeed than I realised when writing.